

‘In Erudition There Is No Heresy’

The Humanities in Baroque Rome

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In many historical accounts, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Rome is marked by its splendid buildings, fine art and political insignificance. Baroque Rome – and moreover all of Italy – appears barren on an intellectual level as well, with every impulse of modern thought oppressed by a dominant papacy and the Inquisition; the case of Galileo Galilei had induced a long-term trauma. Even contemporaries complained about Italy’s backwardness compared with the well-known home of scholarly exchange, France.

For a long time, historical research has stuck to these stereotyped paradigms,¹ and only a few scholars have paid attention to intellectual life in Rome,² most notably Françoise Waquet in her important study on Italian and French intellectuals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1989). It was only recently that an extensive anthology of the *École Française de Rome*, mainly compiled by Italian and French scholars, highlighted that intellectual life in the city of the popes was manifold and worth investigating.³

In this contribution, it will obviously not be possible to describe in full detail the situation of the humanities, meaning in this case chiefly historical and textual scholarship, in Rome between around 1670 and 1760. Rather, some aspects of the institutions of intellectual life in Rome in the years around 1700, as well as some selected Roman scholars and their work, will be presented in order to characterize the situation of scholarship in Baroque Rome, and the specific consequences it engendered for the history of the humanities. This will involve a comparative analysis of textual criticism and ecclesiastical history; as will become clear, these disciplines only came to fruition through the careful negotiation of educational institutions, censorship, and scientific notions that were classified as heretical.⁴

1 Institutions of scholarly exchange: academies

Because vastly more than one article would be needed to present just the most important institutions of Roman erudition individually,⁵ I would like to present an overview in order to convey an impression of what some scholars call 'Roman polycentrism'.⁶ However, I will exclude the universities of the city, such as the pontifical Sapienza, the Jesuit Collegio Romano or the Collegio Urbano of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. These institutions were mainly dedicated to the education of the clergy and were thus not actually centres for discussion or the development of scholarly learning. In the Sapienza, for instance, historical criticism of the Biblical text was introduced only in the middle of the eighteenth century, mainly by Agostino Antonio Giorgi.⁷

Whereas the universities may have been belated in their acceptance of the most recent intellectual approaches, the academies, as places where the latest topics and newest publications were discussed and lectures were given, correspond to the Republic of Letters – the ideal community of individual scholars.⁸ In the period in question, Rome experienced different phases of flourishing academies: the first lasting from 1671 until about 1715, the second phase from 1740 until 1758, and the third only began in the 1770s.⁹

The history of Roman academies of the late seventeenth century cannot be extricated from the figure of Giovanni Giustino Ciampini,¹⁰ who – together with Giovanni Pastrizio¹¹ and Benedetto di S. Giacomo – founded the Accademia dei Concili in the spring of 1671.¹² The mission of this academy was to study ecclesiastical history in its entirety. The history of councils – in dispute with the Protestants, Jansenists and Gallicans – was highly relevant at that time, and the topic allowed academicians to describe, as well as stress, the pope's authority over the Church.¹³ In order to emphasize papal power, scholars focused on the history of the early councils of the fourth through sixth centuries, attaching particular importance to the interaction of profane, theological and ecclesiastical history. In doing so, scholars tried to make use of the modern methods of historical criticism to establish an irrefutable basis for their argumentation.

Such an academy was an inevitable result of not only the effort to defend the theological and legal claims of the Holy See but also the need to improve the level of education among the Roman clergy in general. Devoted to the neo-Tridentine ideal of the respectable and learned prelate, the Accademia dei Concili staked a claim to education of the clergy.¹⁴ This was especially evident in the choice of its meeting place: the palace of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, which was then regarded as the centre of ecclesiastical erudition, *inter alia* due to the already mentioned Collegio Urbano, which was specialized in the education of missionaries.

The Accademia dei Concili was successful, perhaps too successful; just one

year after its founding, its meetings were overcrowded. After Pope Innocent XI praised the work of the academy at the very beginning of his pontificate, it became fashionable to be seen there.¹⁵ Because numerous cardinals attended its meetings, a considerable ceremonial effort had to be expended, and several participants complained of feeling restricted in their freedom of speech.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Ciampini's academy simultaneously became a form of elite university for the Curia. Several Roman scholars who would become important figures later – such as Francesco Bianchini¹⁷ or Giusto Fontanini¹⁸ – attended the academy; even the future popes Clement XI and Benedict XIV studied at this academy. The fact that the *Accademia dei Concili* became so popular and successful also reflects the poor quality of the Roman universities. But as a consequence of the developments described, its scientific quality deteriorated.¹⁹

Despite the supervision of Clement XI, who was well aware of the slow decline of the *Accademia dei Concili*, it was not possible to maintain the institution in the long run. After Domenico Bencini,²⁰ the head of the academy, left Rome in 1715, it was forced to close.²¹ However, erudition remained such a significant priority for the pontificate of the Albani-pope Clement XI that he included the concept of academies in his cultural and educational policy, and he provided these educational institutions with his support.²² Besides the *Accademia dei Concili*, there were various other institutions which were concerned with theological debate and the education of young clergymen, such as the *Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici*²³ or the *Accademia Dogmatica* in the Sapienza.

In contrast to these academies which were dedicated to theological matters, institutions which specialized in the natural sciences were not primarily educational centres; instead, they were dedicated to intellectual exchange among established scholars. Once more, a foundation by Ciampini is most representative in this context: the *Accademia Fisico-Matematica*.²⁴ The academy was open to any contribution from the field of natural sciences, preferably experimental science. When Francesco Bianchini returned to Rome from England in 1714 and reported on his contacts with Edmond Halley, John Flamsteed and Isaac Newton, the interest of the academy was increasingly drawn to astronomy.²⁵ A great diversity of opinion predominated in the *Accademia Fisico-Matematica*; among its members were Aristotelians, Atomists and the followers of Galileo Galilei and René Descartes. It should be noted that many of the academy's members were clergymen of the Curia, including the Jesuit Antonio Baldigiani²⁶ and Francesco Bianchini, who were both censors of the Congregation of the Index, as well as Stefano Gradi²⁷ and Emmanuel Schelstrate,²⁸ who worked as librarians in the Vatican Library.²⁹ Although this academy was not directly connected to the humanities, it is important to mention it in this context because it clearly proves that Rome in the late seventeenth century was by no means reduced to a norm predetermined by the Curia, and that the consequences of the

'case Galileo Galilei' were not as severe as often claimed.³⁰ Due to limitations of the current format, we have to pass by the Accademia matematica (founded in 1689)³¹ of Domenico Quarteroni³² and the Congresso medico romano (founded in 1681)³³ of Giovanni Maria Lancisi,³⁴ as well the academies of poetry and rhetoric, which Ludovico Antonio Muratori judged useless institutions for windbags.³⁵

Two popes, Clement XI and Benedict XIV, left a particular ecclesiastical mark on the academies. But whereas in 1700 Clement XI was able to fall back on already existing institutions,³⁶ such as Ciampini's Accademia dei Concili, in 1740, when Benedict XIV accepted office, there were hardly any surviving academies.³⁷ The names of the four academies then established by the pope shortly after his election are significant for defining a programme of restoration, aimed at the preservation and revival of ecclesiastical heritage as well as the defence of Catholic positions: Accademia di Storia Romana, Accademia di Liturgia, Accademia di Storia Ecclesiastica and Accademia dei Concili.³⁸ They were almost exclusively staffed with clergymen from the Curia who had already acquired a reputation as impeccable scholars, such as Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, Fortunato Tamburini, Ridolfino Venuti or Giuseppe Agostino Orsi. It is furthermore significant that all four academies declined around 1758, the year of Benedict XIV's demise, which marks an actual turning point of epochs in the cultural history of the papacy.

2 Institutions of scholarly reading: libraries

Rome had numerous large libraries, most of which were owned by cardinals, monasteries (e.g. Augustinian friars of S. Agostino; Dominicans of S. Maria sopra Minerva) or universities (e.g. La Sapienza, Il Collegio Romano). The largest and oldest library was and still is the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, which was significantly enlarged three times during the seventeenth century. In 1622/1623 the Bibliotheca Palatina of Heidelberg was donated to the Vatican library by the Bavarian elector Maximilian, and in 1631 the library of the Dukes of Urbino was integrated into its collection, followed in 1690 by the library of Christina, Queen of Sweden. Even today, the books from these libraries form separate collections (known by their abbreviations Pal., Urb., Reg.) within the *Vaticana*.³⁹ Because of its huge collection of manuscripts, scholars travelling to Rome found the Vatican library worth visiting: Jean Mabillon, Bernard de Montfaucon as well as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz visited the *Vaticana*, and their historical research benefited from the expertise of the librarian Emmanuel Schelstrate.⁴⁰ Theology, liturgy, the history of music and more purely scholarly pursuits such as ecclesiastical history, philology and other liberal arts (logic, grammar, rhetoric, linguistics) were topics that could be investigated with the help of Vatican collections. Frequently, books were also lent to foreign scholars and institutions.⁴¹

The existing inventories of Roman libraries list mainly books dealing with various disciplines that are relevant to the history of the humanities. Two examples are the exceptionally well-stocked libraries of the cardinals Giuseppe Renato Imperiali⁴² and Domenico Passionei.⁴³ Although there were small sections devoted to the natural sciences in both libraries, theological, juridical and historical issues were predominant. We may understand library catalogues as a reflection of Roman scholarly reading and research, enabling us to reconstruct which books were available in Rome and which Roman publications were included in ambitious collections. It is important to note that in all large Roman libraries, there was a great number of works listed in the Index of prohibited books, which were nevertheless catalogued and apparently used without doubt or distinction.

3 Girolamo Casanate and Giusto Fontanini: two concepts of libraries

The history of libraries also enables us to gain an insight into the general situation of textual and historical scholarship in Rome at about 1700. One important library, which is still extant, illustrates the contemporary state of affairs: the library of the cardinal Girolamo Casanate, prefect of the Vatican library and the Congregation of the Index as well as a member of the Roman Inquisition.⁴⁴ Casanate owned one of the largest Roman libraries, which he willingly made available to other scholars. In his last will and testament, he stated that the library was to become the property of the Dominicans of S. Maria sopra Minerva and explicitly stipulated how it was to be run in future. Three Dominicans who censored books (in the Congregation of the Index and/or the Inquisition) were to sit on the board at the same time: the Master of the Sacred Palace, the secretary of the Congregation of the Index and the commissioner of the Holy Office.⁴⁵ The entire library was to be made available for the work of the censors in the Congregation of the Index and Holy Office and was to be further expanded for this purpose. Because the library was actually put to use as Casanate envisioned, the history of the Roman Inquisition in the eighteenth century is closely connected to the *Biblioteca Casanatense*.⁴⁶ In addition to the library, Casanate intended to create a centre of learning where the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas would be studied and taught.⁴⁷ Based on these plans, we can conclude that Casanate's objective was to create an 'inquisitorial' library, where an undeniably orthodox theology was to be practised and which was to distinguish the 'true Catholic doctrine' from the various heresies.

A completely different idea of libraries was represented by the collection overseen by Giusto Fontanini, one of the most important Roman scholars of the era. In 1697, he became the librarian of Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali. Imperi-

ali likewise owned a well-stocked collection of books, which was merged with the libraries of the cardinals Lorenzo Imperiali and Jan Walthersz. Sluis and which Fontanini cultivated and expanded (he, for instance, bought the library of the scholar Marcello Severoli).⁴⁸ Since Imperiali welcomed guests with open arms, his library was popular and appreciated by scholars all over Europe. It was Fontanini who put this enormous collection of books into a characteristic order; his catalogue represents one of the earliest uses of a well thought-out system.⁴⁹ The order developed by Fontanini exceeds the library of his cardinal by far; in the end, it is the attempt to completely systemize all knowledge available in print. In the eighteenth century, the term *bibliotheca* meant both physically tangible collections of books as well as more generally all the literature listing knowledge.⁵⁰ This may be the reason why Fontanini's catalogue was presented in the *Acta Eruditorum*, a Lutheran journal from Leipzig, which was popular all over Europe.⁵¹

Giusto Fontanini was, just like Girolamo Casanate, a member of the Republic of Letters, the international, virtual association of scholars in which members were able to engage in discussion on equal footing. Fontanini was not only able to stay in contact by writing letters but more importantly, by meeting face-to-face with scholars visiting Rome.⁵² Furthermore, his task as a librarian allowed Fontanini to come into contact with numerous Protestant publications, which he obviously even read without inhibition. It would have been very difficult for him to remain in a purely Catholic world of scholars as prescribed by the 'official' Roman theology.

4 Francesco Bianchini: ecclesiastical history between historical criticism and theological standards

What are the characteristics of Roman theology in the years around 1700? Primarily, theological discourse was dominated – as it was everywhere – by the distinction between speculative and positive theology. Counted among the latter approaches are Biblical exegesis and ecclesiastical history, disciplines based (in simple terms) on material sources and not only theological thought.⁵³ For the present discussion, we can leave aside speculative theology and concentrate on ecclesiastical history as part of positive theology.

In 1697, Francesco Bianchini published a first volume of his *Istoria universale* (Universal History); further volumes did not follow.⁵⁴ The book was dedicated to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, nephew of Pope Alexander VIII, who had died in 1691 – a topic we will address later. An extensive, yet very concise depiction of his programme concerning ecclesiastical history can be seen in the frontispiece of the work, in a much more suggestive form than in Bianchini's introduction to the book (Fig. 47).⁵⁵

In the centre of the picture, there is a female figure that can be called *veritas* or *religio*. In each case, the term needs an additional adjective: *veritas christiana* or *religio catholica*. This results from the context: John the Evangelist sits enthroned above her, at his feet an eagle, his attribute, is spewing water into a basin. The female figure fills a bowl with this water in order to pour it – as if in a baptismal ceremony – over the heads of the personifications of the Four Continents kneeling at her feet. Next to the central figure is a man in ancient Roman armour who – owing to Christ’s monogram on his helmet – can be identified as the Emperor Constantine. He holds a crown, also showing Christ’s monogram, over her head.

At first glance, it is easy to overlook the fact that the woman is sitting on a rectangular stone; this stone, however, according to Cesare Ripa, symbolizes the cornerstone of Christ (1 Peter 2,7-8).⁵⁶ Its inscription in Greek letters refers to Christ’s representative on Earth, Pope Alexander VIII.

Still, the *romanitas* in this picture goes further: the Basilica of the Lateran in the right-hand background of the picture is easily identifiable; on the opposite side, the ruins of the Palatine can be seen. As is generally known, there are several obelisks in Rome; the popes of the early modern period used them systematically to mark important places. However, this one has a very atypical inscription. ‘New and old, which I have laid up for thee, O my beloved.’ This quotation from the Old Testament (Songs of Solomon 7,13) is a reference to the long continuity of Roman history, from the ancient world to the present, and to the activities of the historian Bianchini as well as to the old and new discoveries that he presents to his readers.

The coins and other objects lying at Constantine’s feet are just as ambiguous: they serve as indications of Roman power over its subjugated peoples, even the whole world, but they are also references to Bianchini’s method which he describes in the preface. For his writing of ancient history, Bianchini made special use of archaeological finds to present facts, so that he could avoid relying exclusively on the ancient myths of chroniclers. Scholars had only begun to place archaeology among the sciences and to recognize its importance for critical historiography around 1700, so Bianchini’s method was very up-to-date. He was active as an archaeologist in Rome himself; in 1703 he was probably named *Presidente delle antichità di Roma* by Clement XI.⁵⁷

Altogether, the frontispiece of Bianchini’s *Istoria universale* shows an understanding of ecclesiastical history that is oriented toward the Roman Church and the Catholic denomination and that is not afraid of the latest methodological achievements; however, these are subordinate to the aim of the depiction. Thus, history can only be represented as the creation, spread and growth of Roman Catholic Christianity, to which all people should be converted. Only the *religio catholica*, not a secular sovereign such as Constantine, should be given the honour

of gifts and genuflection. The emperor, standing on the treasures of his subjects, has finally recanted the pagan religion, as indicated by the reversed torch. He now dedicates his rule to the *religio catholica*, which he crowns with the victor's crown and at whose feet there is a globe, symbol of the world. The Holy Scripture, the Word of God (represented by St. John) proves the truth of the Church and that the beginning and the end of the world (alpha and omega) are included in it. The pontifical authority, symbolically present in the stone, its inscription and the Basilica of the Lateran, represents and guarantees the *religio catholica* in the moment of reading as well. In my opinion, this picture sums up what Roman historical scholars recognized as their task.

Yet, Helmut Zedelmaier's observations also have to be taken into consideration, namely that history as an independent discipline was just being developed during the first half of the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ The 'historicization' of thinking and historical critique, however, have their established place among Roman erudition. This can be seen, for example, in the well-publicized argument about the rights of the pope or the emperor to the city of Comacchio and the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza. Giusto Fontanini was particularly committed to this subject and defended the position of the Holy See on the basis of historical sources.⁵⁹ In order to sharply outline what I feel to be the most important aspect of this subject, we have to make a detour to the Holy Office and have a look at its censors.⁶⁰

In the years 1705 and 1706, the Holy Office considered a critical edition written by the Benedictine Benedetto Bacchini,⁶¹ who now asked the Inquisition for permission to print. The edited text was the *Liber pontificalis* by Agnello of Ravenna, a history of the archbishops of Ravenna dating from the ninth century.⁶² History can be dangerous or helpful to actual positions, so expert's reports by two outstanding scholars, Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagna,⁶³ first custodian of the Vatican library, and Francesco Bianchini, librarian of the Ottoboni, were requested by the Roman Inquisition⁶⁴ and read in a *congregatio extraordinaria* on 3rd March 1705.⁶⁵ Both scholars agreed: critical editions in general were not to be condemned, not even because of the published text; rather, it was important what the editor made of it. With Agnello's text, Bacchini had enclosed a comment that was probably explanatory rather than critical. And this was exactly what the two censors condemned in their very detailed analyses. For in the ninth century, Agnello had strongly stressed the independence from Rome of the Church of Ravenna and attributed this independence to its close connection with the Byzantine emperor.⁶⁶ Thus – to give one example – the archbishops of Ravenna are said to have received the pallium, the very vestment that symbolizes their dignity,⁶⁷ not from the pope but from the emperor. It was mainly on this subject that Zaccagna and Bianchini insisted Bacchini should distance himself from Agnello more strongly and should reveal in his commentary how misguided the view of the mediaeval

bishop was. Why? On this point, Agnello's text was highly topical, beyond the question of historical truth. By means of this text, French and German movements strongly oriented towards national churches would have been able to build an argument for more independence from the pope.⁶⁸ This would not have been in the interest of the Roman Curia, leading to the creation of national churches at the expense of the one Universal Church. The processes of the Inquisition were designed to prevent such unintended effects. However, it was not necessary to ban a complete edition; the advantage of such an editorial attempt was evident to Zaccagna and Bianchini.

Bacchini agreed to revise his manuscript and presented a new draft to the Inquisition several months later.⁶⁹ Once more, Zaccagna and Bianchini were required to hand in reports; once more, their judgment was that Bacchini should distance himself from Agnello's view more clearly. Still, this seems to have encountered resistance even within the Inquisition, especially since Bacchini was recommended by Domenico Passionei and Giusto Fontanini, who were both very influential and put in a word for Bacchini with Pope Clement XI.⁷⁰ The pope charged a third well-known scholar, Giuseppe Maria Tomasi,⁷¹ to write a fifth report.⁷² Although Tomasi did not directly contradict his predecessors, he nevertheless left leeway for a possible publication of Bacchini's manuscript. He declared many aspects that would have been marked as indication of heresy by other Roman censors to be irrelevant, especially since Bacchini could not be rebuked for purely describing facts. Tomasi's recommendation was that in ecclesiastical historiography, it would be best to generally stick to Caesar Baronius,⁷³ so nothing could go wrong. The final permission for Bacchini to publish his edition was given after an oral presentation by Cardinal Tommaso Maria Ferrari⁷⁴ of all five reports in the *congregatio* on 5th May 1706.⁷⁵

All five reports written on Bacchini's edition demonstrate a lot of respect for both the scholar and his work as well as a high regard of the historical-critical method. Tomasi's open-minded attitude towards Bacchini's results was eventually decisive for a publication of the work. But as Françoise Waquet writes, 'censoring the Agnello, this perfect expression of the new science, would have meant condemning the entire programme of cultural renewal...'⁷⁶

5 The double loyalty of the 'pio letterato'

This rough outline of Roman erudition in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries allows us to describe the situation of Roman textual and historical scholars in a few short theses:

- 1 Roman erudition was polycentric in terms of an institutional framework which consisted of various academies and particularly libraries; both forms of institutions were generally accessible for Roman as well as foreign scholars with appropriate contacts.
- 2 From a socio-historical point of view, around 1700 Roman erudition was principally erudition in the context of the Curia; it was mostly supported by members of the Curia or those connected to it, a circumstance that is not surprising considering contemporary social structures in Rome. However, this also means that impartial research and education were not feasible, rather they were only possible in the context of the Curia or the *religio catholica*.
- 3 Insight into the situation of the various disciplines can primarily be derived from the history of libraries and their catalogues. Casanate's 'inquisitorial' concept and Fontanini's 'polyhistorical' one are only two examples from the rich culture of ecclesiastical erudition of the time.
- 4 Most of the disciplines of humanist scholarship in Rome were closely connected with theology, especially ecclesiastical history as its leading discipline, and the method of historical criticism with its investigation of written and non-written sources. This becomes particularly clear in Francesco Bianchini's publications.
- 5 Roman erudition in the first half of the eighteenth century was always 'intentional' erudition as could be seen in the case of Bacchini's edition: It was dedicated to the Holy See, both in terms of its theological positions and its political interests.⁷⁷
- 6 For that reason, Roman scholars were loyal to both the Curia and to the Republic of Letters. This observation can be illustrated by asking what they were reading. How could someone who censored – for instance – Protestant books in service of the Inquisition or the Congregation of the Index also enjoy reading these very books at home and benefit from the experience? After all, numerous forbidden books could be found in Roman libraries; for example, people read Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697), and the Biblioteca Corsiniana decorated its halls with portraits of the most important scholars – above all Protestants. Certainly, the reading of banned scholarship was not always a matter of knowing what the heretics wrote in order to better censor it afterwards. More often, a purely scientific interest or thirst of knowledge was the driving force.
- 7 Françoise Waquet uses a beautiful term, and although she only applies it to Ludovico Antonio Muratori, it is adequate for characterizing Roman scholars in general: *pio letterato* – pious scholar.⁷⁸ The two essential elements are included in this term, and only by considering both will it be possible to understand what Roman scholars wrote around 1700 and to do justice to them. The

adjective 'pio' means more than just spirituality or the piety of the Church; it likewise indicates loyalty to the Pope and the theology of the Roman Church. 'Letterato' implies a connection to the Republic of Letters and thus, the scholar's reading habits. The standard of scholarship certainly required a comprehensive knowledge of what had happened and what was published in the entire Republic of Letters. For the mere 'letterato', confessional boundaries were not necessarily important; the 'pio letterato' on the contrary was not able to ignore opinions that questioned the papacy and Roman theology. No scholar would be declared a heretic simply because of his academic research and reading. The notion dominant at that time is confirmed by Scipione Maffei in the remark, which also heads this contribution: '*Nell'erudizione non si dà eresia*' – in erudition there is no heresy.⁷⁹

Given the very dissatisfactory state of research on the Roman scholarly world of around 1700,⁸⁰ only a rough overview could be presented. In particular, the Roman censoring institutions of the Inquisition and the Index could not be discussed in detail without going beyond the scope of this article.⁸¹ Furthermore, the development of single humanities disciplines or the reception of ideas in Rome during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is still to be examined.⁸² It has become clearer, however, that Rome, rather than being a scientifically backward stronghold of the Inquisition, was an exemplary theatre for welcoming the Europe-wide network of the Republic of Letters. With its well-developed scholarly infrastructure and its large educational institutions and libraries, which had few parallels elsewhere in Europe, the city made possible the double loyalty of the 'pious scholar' to the Curia and the Republic of Letters.

A history of the humanities in Rome from about 1650 to 1750 still has to be written; all research on the subject should consider what was said about the 'pio letterato'. For a general history of the humanities, the Roman scholars of the period demonstrate the great importance of historical research and thinking as well as the considerable role of religion and theology. But the infrastructure of the city with its academies and libraries was favourable not only to these leading disciplines, but also to more subordinate ones like grammar, logic or rhetoric, as Fontanini's catalogue of the Imperiali library proves. In defining the place of this part of the humanities, its relation to historical and theological premises should be taken into consideration without neglecting the situation of the Curia as a melting pot of European cultures (scholarly). As the state of research on Roman and Italian scholars and their work in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries is indeed very poor at the moment, this contribution also invites scholars to concentrate on this topic more intensely.

Notes

- 1 For a historiographical overview, see Françoise Waquet, *Le modèle français et l'Italie savante. Conscience de soi et perception de l'autre dans la République des lettres (1660-1750)* (Rome: Ecole Française, 1989), 213-219; Brendan Dooley, *Science, Politics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Italy. The Giornale de'letterati d'Italia and its World* (New York-London: Garland Publishing, 1991). Peter Hersche established a 'culture against progress': Peter Hersche, *Italien im Barockzeitalter, 1600-1750. Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 267-280.
- 2 Cf. Jean Boutier et al., 'Les Milieux intellectuels italiens comme problème historique. Une enquête collective', in *Naples, Rome, Florence. Une Histoire comparée des milieux intellectuels italiens (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Jean Boutier et al., (Rome: Ecole Française, 2005), 8-10.
- 3 Jean Boutier et al. (eds.), *Naples, Rome, Florence. Une Histoire comparée des milieux intellectuels italiens (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Rome: Ecole Française, 2005). This volume was preceded by important but nearly unconnected studies by Mario Rosa, Maria Pia Donato and others, e.g. Mario Rosa, 'Un 'mediateur' dans la République des Lettres: le bibliothécaire', in *Commercium Litterarium. La communication dans la république des lettres / Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters 1600-1750*, ed. Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet (Amsterdam-Maarssen: APA, 1994), 81-99; id., 'Curia romana e 'repubblica delle lettere', in *Papes, princes et savants dans l'Europe moderne. Mélanges à la mémoire de Bruno Neveu*, eds. Jean-Louis Quantin and Jean-Claude Waquet (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007), 333-349; Maria Pia Donato, 'Le strane mutazioni di un'identità: il 'letterato' a Roma, 1670-1750', in *Gruppi ed identità sociali nell'Italia di età moderna*, ed. Biagio Salvemini (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998), 275-314; id., *Accademie romane. Una storia sociale (1671-1824)* (Naples-Rome: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2000); Brigitte Sölch, *Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729) und die Anfänge öffentlicher Museen in Rom* (Munich-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007).
- 4 This essay summarizes some important results of the author's dissertation *Virtuelle Büchersäle. Lektüre und Zensur gelehrter Zeitschriften an der römischen Kurie 1665-1765* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2009).
- 5 For a general overview see Mario Rosa, 'I depositi del sapere: biblioteche, accademie, archivi', in *La memoria del sapere. Forme di conservazione e strutture organizzative dall'antichità a oggi*, ed. Pietro Rossi (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1988), 165-209.
- 6 Cf. Marina Caffiero et al., 'De la catholicité post-tridentine à la République Romaine. Splendeurs et misères des intellectuels courtisans', in *Naples, Rome, Florence*, 173.
- 7 Agostino Antonio Giorgi OSA (1711-1797), Roman Theologian, Professor at the Sapienza; 1772 Consultor of the Holy Office. See Filippo Maria Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli Studi di Roma detta comunemente la Sapienza*. Vol. 4 (Rome: Pagliarini, 1806), 74, 250. Giorgi's method can be seen clearly (e.g.) in his *Fragmentum Evangelii S. Ioannis Graeco-Copto-Thebaicum Saeculi IV. Additamentum ex vetustissimis membranis lectionum evangelicarum divinae missae cod. diaconici reliquiae et liturgica alia fragmenta veteris thebaidensium ecclesiae ante Dioscurum ex Veliterno Museo Borgiano* (Rome: Fulgoni, 1789).
- 8 Introductions to the Republic of Letters: Hans Bots, *Republiek der Letteren. Ideaal en werkelijkheid* (Amsterdam: APA, 1977); Hans Bots, Françoise Waquet, *La République des Lettres* ([Paris]: Belin, 1997); Lorraine Daston, 'The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment', *Science in context* 4 (1991): 367-386; Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning. Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters 1680-1750* (New Haven-Lon-

- don: Yale University Press, 1995). For the ideal of scientific academies: Anthony Grafton, 'Where was Salomon's House? Ecclesiastical History and Intellectual Origins of Bacon's New Atlantis', in *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, ed. Herbert Jaumann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 21-38.
- 9 Maria Pia Donato, *Accademie romane. Una storia sociale (1671-1824)*, Naples-Rome 2000. A list of all Roman academies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is given in *Naples, Rome, Florence*, 683-684. For the latest phase which cannot be discussed in this place: Marina Caffiero, 'Accademie e autorappresentazione dei gruppi intellettuali a Roma alla fine del Settecento', in *Naples, Rome, Florence*, 277-292.
 - 10 Giovanni Giustino Ciampini (1633-1698), Roman scholar; collaborator in the *Giornale de' Letterati* by Nazari (1668-1675), editor of an own *Giornale de' Letterati* (1675-1681); founder of the Accademia dei Concili and the Accademia Fisico-matematica; owner of an important library. See also Silvia Grassi Fiorentino, 'Ciampini, Giovanni Giustino', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 25 (1981), 136-143.
 - 11 Giovanni Pastrizio / Ivan Pastrič (1636-1708), Theologian and Polyhistor, born in Croatia, lived in Rome.
 - 12 Cf. Donato, *Accademie romane*, 13-26; id., 'Le due Accademie dei Concili a Roma', in *Naples, Rome, Florence*, 243-255.
 - 13 Cf. William J. Bouwsma, 'Gallicanism and the Nature of Christendom', in *Renaissance. Studies in honor of Hans Baron*, ed. Anthony Molho, John Tedeschi (Florence: Sansoni, 1971), 811-829; Wolfgang Mager, 'Die Kirche als Gehäuse der Freiheit. Die Ausbildung liberaler Anschauungen über den Aufbau der Kirche und des Staates in Frankreich als Entgegnung auf die päpstliche Bulle 'Unigenitus' (1713)', in *Französisch-deutsche Beziehungen in der neueren Geschichte*, ed. Klaus Malettke et al. (Hamburg: LIT, 2007), 175. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the secretary of the Congregation of the Index, Giuseppe Agostino Orsi, published two volumes on this subject which summarize the debate: Giuseppe Agostino Orsi, *De Irreformabili Romani Pontificis in Definiendis Fidei Controversiis Iudicio* (Rome: Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1739); id., *De Romani Pontificis in Synodos Oecumenicas et earum Canones Potestate* (Rome: Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1740).
 - 14 Cf. Donato, *Accademie romane*, 21. See also Luigi Fiorani, 'Identità e crisi del prete romano tra sei e settecento', *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 7 (1988), 135-212.
 - 15 Cf. Donato, *Le due Accademie dei Concili*, 247-248.
 - 16 Cf. Donato, *Accademie romane*, 18-19.
 - 17 Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729), Roman theologian, archaeologist and astronomer, librarian of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. See also Salvatore Rotta, 'Bianchini, Francesco', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 10 (1968), 187-194.
 - 18 Giusto Fontanini (1666-1736), Roman scholar and theologian; *uditore* and librarian of Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali; 1725 participant at the *Concilio Romano* (synod of the Roman province). See also Dario Busolini, 'Fontanini, Giusto', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 48 (1997), 747-752.
 - 19 Cf. Donato, *Accademie romane*, 21.
 - 20 Francesco Domenico Bencini (1664-1744), 1687-1715 professor at the Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide, 1715-1735 professor in Torino.
 - 21 Cf. Donato, *Le due Accademie dei Concili*, 250.
 - 22 Cf. Donato, *Accademie romane*, 24-26; Christopher M. S. Johns, 'Papa Albani and Francesco Bianchini. Intellectual and Visual Culture in Early Eighteenth-Century Rome', in *Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729) und die europäische gelehrte Welt um 1700*, ed. Valentin

- Kockel, Brigitte Sölch (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005), 41-55.
- 23 Several letters and plans concerning the *Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici* can be found in Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Fondo Albani, 10.
- 24 Cf. Donato, *Accademie romane*, 26-34.
- 25 Cf. Sölch, *Francesco Bianchini*, 37-38.
- 26 Antonio Baldigiani SJ (1647-1711), Roman scholar, lecturer of philosophy and theology at the Collegio Romano, relator (1687) and consultor (1690) of the Congregation of the Index as well as qualificator of the Holy Office (1690).
- 27 Stefano Gradi (1613-1683), scholar and diplomat from Ragusa, in 1682 custodian at the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.
- 28 Emmanuel Schelstrate (1645-1692), First Custodian at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, consultor of the Congregation of the Index. For Schelstrate see Herman H. Schwedt, 'Emmanuel Schelstrate († 1692) nella Roma dei santi e dei libertini', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome / Bulletin van het Belgisch Historisch Instituut Rome* 66 (1996), 53-80 (reprint in: *Censor censorum. Gesammelte Aufsätze von Herman H. Schwedt*, ed. Tobias Lagatz, Sabine Schratz [Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006], 63-84); id., 'Schelstrate, Emmanuel', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 9 (1995), 140-142.
- 29 On the variety of the participants, see Donato, *Accademie romane*, 28-33.
- 30 Cf. Francesco Beretta, 'Le Siège Apostolique et l'Affaire Galilée: Relectures romaines d'une condamnation célèbre', *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 7 (1999), 421-498; id., 'L'heliocentrisme à Rome, à la fin du XVIIe siècle: une affaire d'étrangers? Aspects structurels d'un espace intellectuel', <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/05/87/86/PDF/TexteBeretta.pdf>; Antonella Romano, 'A l'ombre de Galilée? Activité scientifique et pratique académique à Rome au XVIIe siècle', in *Naples, Rome, Florence*, 209-242.
- 31 Cf. André Robinet, 'L'Accademia matematica de D. Quarteroni et le 'Phoranomus' de G.W. Leibniz (Rome, 1688)', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 11 (1991), 7-18.
- 32 Domenico Quarteroni (1650-1734), Roman mathematician, founder of the *Accademia matematica*.
- 33 Cf. Donato, *Accademie romane*, 34-39.
- 34 Giovanni Maria Lancisi (1654-1720), Roman doctor of medicine, leading member of the *Congresso medico romano*.
- 35 Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Primi disegni della Repubblica letteraria d'Italia* (1703), in *Dal Muratori al Cesarotti. Vol. 1,1: Opere di Ludovico Antonio Muratori*, ed. Giorgio Falco, Fiorenzo Forti (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1964), 179: 'La pompa della sola poesia non ha altra virtù che quella de' fiori.'
- 36 Cf. Johns, *Papa Albani and Francesco Bianchini*, 41-55.
- 37 For Benedict's pontificate see Mario Rosa, 'Benedetto XIV', *Enciclopedia dei Papi* 3 (2000): 446-461; Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, 'Benedikt XIV. – Ein Papst zwischen Reaktion und Aufklärung', in *Ambivalenzen der Aufklärung*, ed. Gerhard Ammerer, Hanns Haas (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), 169-186; id., 'Storia, politica e apologia in Benedetto XIV: Alle radici della reazione cattolica', in *Papes et papauté au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Philippe Koeppel (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 145-161.
- 38 For the Academies founded by Benedict XIV, see Donato, *Accademie romane*, 86-115. Consequently, the production of books flourished in Rome during the pontificate of Benedict XIV: cf. Valentino Romani, 'Tipografia e commercio librario nel Settecento Romano: Note intorno al pontificato di Benedetto XIV', in *Benedetto XIV (Prospero Lambertini). Convegno Internazionale di studi storici*, Vol. 2 (Ferrara: Centro Studi 'Girolamo Baruffaldi', 1982), 1181-1196.

- 39 Cf. Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane du Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973), 99-156.
- 40 Cf. Christine Maria Grafinger, 'Studiosi nella Biblioteca Vaticana del Settecento', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 35 (1997): 289-296.
- 41 Cf. Christine Maria Grafinger, *Die Ausleihe vatikanischer Handschriften und Druckwerke (1563-1700)* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993).
- 42 Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651-1737), nephew of Cardinal Lorenzo Imperiali, as cardinal (1690) member of the Holy Office (1720) and the Congregation of the Index (1698), owner of a huge library which was catalogued by Giusto Fontanini. Cf. Stefano Tabacchi, 'Imperiali, Giuseppe Renato', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 62 (2004), 305-308.
- 43 Domenico Passionei (1682-1761), scholar, papal diplomat and nuntius; as cardinal (1738) member of the Holy Office and the Congregation of the Index (1743); Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (1755); associated member of the Académie des Inscriptions et des Lettres in Paris; owner of a huge library on the Quirinal in Rome. Cf. Alfredo Serrai, *Domenico Passionei e la sua biblioteca* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004).
- 44 Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700), 1658 Inquisitor in Malta, 1668 Assessor of the Holy Office; as cardinal (1673) member of the Holy Office, Prefect of the Congregation of the Index (1698) and of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (1693); Cf. Lucien Ceysens, 'Casanate, Girolamo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 21 (1978), 144-147.
- 45 For the offices of the Congregation of the Index and the Inquisition, see Herman H. Schwedt, 'Die römischen Kongregationen der Inquisition und des Index: Die Personen (16.-20. Jh.)', in *Inquisition, Index, Zensur. Wissenskulturen der Neuzeit im Widerstreit*, ed. Hubert Wolf (Paderborn: Schöningh 2001), 89-101.
- 46 Cf. Vincenzo de Gregorio, *La Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1993; Margherita Palumbo, 'La "bibliotheca haeretica" del cardinale Girolamo Casanate', in *Dal torchio alle fiamme. Inquisizione e censura: Nuovi contributi dalla più antica Biblioteca Provinciale d'Italia*, ed. Vittoria Bonani (Salerno: Biblioteca Provinciale, 2005), 21-32. The connection between library and congregation can be shown in the case of Daniel Georg Morhof's 'Polyhistor': Cf. Bernward Schmidt, 'Sollicita ac provida vigilantia'. Die 'Indexreform' Benedikts XIV', in *Verbotene Bücher. Zur Geschichte des Index im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hubert Wolf (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008), 345-360.
- 47 For prosopographical indications, see Alberto Guglielmotti, *Catalogo dei Bibliotecari, cattedratici, e teologi del Collegio Casanatense nel convento della Minerva dell'Ordine de'predicatori in Roma dal principio di loro istituzione sino al presente* (Rome: Tipografia delle Belle Arti, 1860).
- 48 Cf. Flavia Cancedda, *Figure e fatti intorno alla biblioteca del Cardinale Imperiali, mecenate del '700* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995).
- 49 [Giusto Fontanini], *Bibliothecae Josephi Renati Imperialis Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalis Sancti Georgii Catalogus* (Rome: Gonzaga, 1711).
- 50 Cf. Roger Chartier, 'Bibliothèques sans murs', in *L'Ordre des livres. Lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en europe entre XIV^e et XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Roger Chartier (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1992), 69-94; Colette Nativel, 'Bibliotheca selon Morhof', in *Les premiers siècles de la République européenne des Lettres*, ed. Marc Fumaroli (Paris: Baudry, 2005), 427-448.
- 51 Cf. *Acta Eruditorum*, May 1714, 218-219: 'Inter celebriores Urbis bibliothecas, quae codicum impressorum & selectu & copia sese commendant, non minima est, quae Purpuratum modo dictum Eminentissimum possessorem ac dominum habet. Tribus enim spatiis seu cameris sat amplis, in aedibus ejus ad Forum Antonii sitis, distincta patet, atque haud

- raro hospitum literatorum accessu, quibus & nos aliquando immixtos fuisse non sine voluptate recordamur, quotidie ferme frequentatur.'
- 52 Cf. Domenico Fontanini, *Memorie della vita di Monsignor Giusto Fontanini arcivescovo di Ancira, canonico della Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore e abate di Sesto* (Venice: Valvasense, 1755), 4-6.
- 53 Cf. Bruno Neveu, 'Quelques orientations de la théologie catholique au XVII^e siècle', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 16 (1994), 44-46.
- 54 Francesco Bianchini, *La Istoria universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli Antichi*, Rome: de Rossi, 1697. A reprint was published in 1747 with the same editor.
- 55 Cf. Susan M. Dixon, 'Francesco Bianchini's Images and his Legacy in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: From Capricci to Playing Cards to Proscenium and back', in *Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729) und die europäische gelehrte Welt um 1700*, ed. Valentin Kockel, Brigitte Sölch (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005), 83-103; Sölch, *Francesco Bianchini*, 42-47, 149-154.
- 56 1 Peter 2,7-8: 'Unto you therefore which believe he is precious: but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed.'
- 57 According to François de Polignac, this nomination cannot be proven though reported by Bianchini's biographer Alessandro Mazzoleni (1735). Cf. Sölch, *Francesco Bianchini*, 33.
- 58 Helmut Zedelmaier, 'Im Griff der Geschichte'. Zur Historiographiegeschichte der frühen Neuzeit', in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 112 (1992): 436-456.
- 59 E.g. [Giusto Fontanini], *Historia Summi Imperii Apostolici Sedis in Ducatum Parmae Ac Placentinae Libri Tres*. Rome: anonymus, 1721. Cf. Gesine Göschel, *Das 'bellum diplomaticum' um Comacchio zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt/M.: Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität, 1973).
- 60 For an introduction to the procedures of the Inquisition see Adriano Garuti, 'La santa Romana e Universale Inquisizione. Strutture e procedure', in *L'Inquisizione* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2003), 295-302. Hubert Wolf, *Einleitung 1814-1917* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005), 244-249 (in English).
- 61 Benedetto Bacchini OSB (1651-1721), Savant from Parma, librarian of the Dukes of Modena, teacher of Ludovico Antonio Muratori. See A. Momigliano, 'Bacchini, Benedetto', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 5 (1963): 22-29; Paolo Golinelli, *Benedetto Bacchini (1651-1721). L'uomo, lo storico, il maestro* (Florence: Olschki, 2003).
- 62 Agnelli, *qui et Andreas, ... Liber pontificalis, sive Vitae Pontificum Ravennatum. D. Benedictus Bacchini Abbas S. Mariae de Lacroma O.S.B. Congregationis Casinensis ex Bibliotheca Estensi eruit, dissertationibus, & observationibus, nec non Appendice Monumentorum illustravit, & auxit ...* (Modena: Capponi, 1708). The text was revised and re-edited in 1723 by Ludovico Antonio Muratori and in 1864 by Jacques-Paul Migne. Modern editions: *The Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Deborah Maukopf Deliyannis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); *Agnellus von Ravenna, Liber Pontificalis – Bischofsbuch*, ed. Claudia Nauwerth, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1996).
- 63 Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagna (1652-1712), in 1708 Relator of the Congregation of the Index, First Custodian of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.
- 64 The entire material can be found in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (ACDF), SO CL 1706-1707, no. 3. Some notes also in ACDF Decreta SO 1705, fol. 75r and 1706, fol. 163r and 189rv. Cf. Franz Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*. Vol. 2, 1 (Bonn: Cohen, 1885), 155-156.

- 65 Besides, Antoine Arnauld's *Difficultez proposées à M. Steyaert* were censored in the same congregation. Cf. ACDF Decreta SO 1705, fol. 75r; ACDF SO CL 1704-1705, no. 19.
- 66 Cf. Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Agnellus', *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1 (1980): 211-212.
- 67 Cf. Theodor Klauser, 'Pallium', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd edition, 8 (1963): 7-9; Louis Duchesne, *Les origines du culte chrétien*, 5th edition (Paris: Boccard, 1925), 404-410.
- 68 Cf. Günther Wassilowsky, 'Katholizismus', *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 6 (2007): 467-473; id., 'Gallikanismus', *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* 4 (2006): 135-137.
- 69 Discussed on 21st April 1706, cf. ACDF Decreta SO 1706, fol. 163r. The provisional decree of this day read 'Eminentissimi dixerunt non impediendam esse editionem libri, de quo agitur facturo in primis per Auctorem Commentarii eiusdem libri iis omnibus additionibus, explicationibus, ac correctionibus, quae opportuna, et necessaria visa sunt, et videbuntur illis qui ad revisionem libri praefati fuerunt iam deputati, et deputabuntur. Et eadem die in solita audientia facta per me relatione Sanctissimo Patri Nostro Sanctitas Sua S. Congregationis sententiam approbavit, ac iussit revisionem supradicti libri committi Patri Thomasio Ordinis Theatinorum.' (ACDF SO CL 1706-1707, without page number).
- 70 Cf. Francesco Andreu, *Pellegrino alle sorgenti. San Giuseppe Maria Tomasi. La Vita – il Pensiero – le Opere* (Rome: Curia Generalizia dei Chierici Regolari, 1987), 250-251.
- 71 Giuseppe Maria Tomasi (1649-1713), Roman theologian and historian, examiner episcoporum, qualificator of the Holy Office, consultor of the Congregation of the Index; as cardinal (1712) member of the latter one.
- 72 Tomasi's report was published in his *Opera*, vol. 7 (Rome: Pagliarini, 1754), 132-144.
- 73 Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), Roman scholar, author of a huge ecclesiastical history; 1593 director of the Roman Oratory, as cardinal (1596) member of the Congregation of the Index and prefect of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (1597).
- 74 Tommaso Maria Ferrari (1647-1716), 1688-1695 Master of the Sacred Palace, as cardinal (1695) member of the Holy Office (1696) and prefect of the Congregation of the Index (1700).
- 75 ACDF Decreta SO 1706, fol. 189rv: 'Facta relatione in voce per E. mum S. Clementis de correctionibus factis super libro manuscripto P. D. Bened. Bacchini monaci Ordinis Cassinen. cuius tit. = Agnelli qui et Andreas (de quo alias 3 Martii 1705) E. mi dixerunt, scribendum esse P. Inquisitori Mutinae, quod imprimi permittat praefatum Librum cum dictis correctionibus, quae una cum dicto Libro ad ipsum transmittant.'
- 76 Waquet, *Le modèle français et l'Italie savante*, 380: 'Censurer l'Agnello, cette parfaite expression de la nouvelle science, ce serait, en effet, condamner tout le programme de renouveau culturel ...'
- 77 Cf. Schmidt, *Virtuelle Büchersäle*, 177-186.
- 78 Cf. Françoise Waquet, 'Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Le 'pio letterato' à l'épreuve des faits', in *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, ed. Herbert Jauermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 87-103; id., 'De la 'Repubblica letteraria' au 'pio letterato'. Organisation du savoir et modèles intellectuels dans l'Italie de Muratori', in *Naples, Rome, Florence*, 637-650; Schmidt, *Virtuelle Büchersäle*, 201-207.
- 79 Scipione Maffei, [Expert opinion on the reform of the university of Padua], in 'Un parere di Scipione Maffei intorno allo Studio di Padova sui principi del Settecento', ed. Biagio Brugi, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 69 (1909-1910), 583.
- 80 Cf. Schmidt, *Virtuelle Büchersäle*, 20-26.
- 81 Cf. Patrizia Delpiano, *Il governo della lettura. Chiesa e libri nell'Italia del Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007); Schmidt, *Virtuelle Büchersäle*, 209-357.

- 82 The ideas of Athanasius Kircher, for example, were apparently barely discussed at that time – but this should be examined. I am thankful to Rens Bod for this suggestion. Furthermore, I am deeply grateful to Jessica Buskirk who ameliorated and smoothened my lecture for the publication.